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possible, I wrote to the editor of *Les Missions Catholiques* for permission to translate and include in this work all relevant portions of Père Godefroy's account. This permission was most kindly granted, and I was further referred to the Rev. Eugène Courtais, of the *Missions d'Océanie*, who had himself spent many years in the New Hebrides and who was good enough to send me a revised edition of Père Godefroy's work re-edited by the Rev. Père A. Landès, S.M., that had just appeared in book form under the title *Une tribu tombée de la lune*, the same as that used for Godefroy's original publication, and referring to the native belief that children are begotten by the creator deity Ta-ghar on the moon, whence they descend into their mothers' wombs. The Rev. Eugène Courtais was at the same time good enough to put me in touch with Père Godefroy's brother, Monsieur l'Abbé A. Godefroy, *Aumônier des Servantes du Saint Sacrement* at Angers, who had the generosity to enter into a detailed correspondence with me regarding his brother's work, and to send me copies of letters he had written home containing further information about the natives. He also indicated to me the original text of his brother's account that had appeared, before either of the publications just mentioned, in the *Bulletin trimestriel de l'Association Amicale des anciens élèves*, published by the *Institution Libre de Combrée* at which Père Godefroy had received part of his training. This, he told me, was the only reliable text reproducing word for word what his brother had written. I therefore applied once more for permission to use this text rather than the others as the basis for my translation. This was generously accorded to me by Monsieur l'Abbé Joseph Pinier, *Chanoine Honoraire* and *Supérieur de l'Institution Libre de Combrée*, and in the present volume it is from this text only, and from the letters, that all translations and quotations from Père Jean Godefroy's work have been made. To these reverend gentlemen, all of whom have extended to me the utmost courtesy, I wish here to express my respect and to tender my sincere thanks.

As to Père Godefroy himself, I hope this work will assist in keeping alive the memory of a remarkable man whose devotion to his Mission, which incidentally cost him his life, was equalled by an abundant sense of humour. Coupled with these, he possessed the spirit of a true mystic, which led him, though not actually becoming a member of the Carmelite Order, to practise many of its injunctions, and it was doubtless this quality that gave him the insight he had regarding the spiritual life of the natives. In particular, he is the only white man known to me to have appreciated the character of the megalithic ritual in these islands, despite the great elaboration of its rites and the many other uses to which it has been put, as essentially a "mystery" in the sense in which the Church uses this word. This point of view agrees with my own conclusion that this ritual is comparable with the mysteries of classical

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antiquity. It is an interesting fact, however, that, though Godefroy spoke of this ritual in conversation, no accounts of it are included in his written work. Whether this was because he felt too deeply about it, as his brother suggests, or whether on account of his faith (for the same reason that is said to have led a member of the Anglican Mission to tear up his manuscript concerning the Banks Islands secret societies owing to their similarity with masonic rites) I am unable to say. It is none the less to be regretted that my own account of the chief megalithic rite called Maki, which was the chief subject of my study on Vao, stands alone in its complexity without the added illumination that the professed mystic might have shed on its more recondite meaning. Who knows that Père Godefroy may not himself have had a certain conflict in destroying what he so much admired, for when his mission on Vao came to an end he claimed to have converted a third of the population to Christianity.[1]

It remains for me in this Preface gratefully to acknowledge the receipt of the funds that have enabled this work to be prepared, and to thank those working along similar lines who have assisted in other ways. The field-work was carried out with the aid of a grant from the Wort's Fund supplemented by a small contribution from the funds of the British Association. Preparation for publication has been generously assisted by grants from the Leverhulme Trustees and from the Electors to the Wyse Studentship in Social Anthropology.

Among anthropologists I have to thank Dr. A. C. Haddon for my first introduction to anthropology, for his untiring interest and help, and perhaps above all for his patience in awaiting the long-delayed publication of this first volume; Professor C. G. Seligman for his encouragement and assistance in many respects; Professor Radcliffe-Brown for kindly reading and criticising some of the sections on kinship; Dr. W. J. Perry and the late Professor Sir Grafton Elliot Smith for their contribution to our knowledge of the distribution of megalithic culture and some of the forces that gave rise to it, and their consequent interest in this work; the late Professor A. M. Hocart for criticism, and above all for his clarity of thought with regard to the organic growth and morphology of social structure; and, last but not least, the late Dr. W. H. R. Rivers for introducing me to Melanesia, and whose contributions to anthropology, despite certain weaknesses of which he was well aware, will outlive much of the criticism that has recently been levelled against him.

Finally, no work on the natives of Malekula would be complete

[1] For further information regarding Père Godefroy and his Mission, see the obituary notice in the *Bulletin* mentioned above (of which the full title is to be found in the List of Authors Quoted under Godefroy, 1), dated October 20th, 1933, pp. 202 ff., and the biography by Claude Renaudy entitled *Seul chez les Canaques*.

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partakes of a farewell pudding cooked by her mother.[1] Then, with her face painted red and herself now carrying a basket of yams, she is escorted to the house of the bridegroom. The pigs are handed over one by one without ceremony, beginning with the smallest, and distributed among the bride's relatives. If the last and biggest has attained the size of re-entrant-tusker, a conch-shell trumpet is blown. The bride is now left with her husband. Formerly he would have already built a house for her, but with the incipient disintegration of native culture he is now, as a rule, too lazy, and the couple live together either in his own house or in that of his father while he slowly constructs a new one.

GODEFROY'S ACCOUNT

Godefroy's account[2] is longer and more graphic, and, while omitting some of my facts, contains others omitted in my record.

Words used for "marry."

To express the act of marrying they use a word, the root of which is common in almost all dialects, namely *lage*, together with the corresponding substantives *lagean*.[3] This is the true word meaning "to marry" or "marriage." In Vao there is a second word, which does not appear to go to the bottom of the matter as does the first, but which indicates rather the symbolic gesture, namely *tuka*, "lead into the house" (a native takes a woman into his house only in the case of marriage). When one hears the words "*Mal-kali mo tuka vavine*," literally "Mal-kali has led a woman," everyone knows that this means "Mal-kali has just been married, he has taken a woman."

Betrothal.

This is how the natives perform the marriage contract. Let us take a typical case. Melte-sale is a young man 18 or 20 years old; his parents have decided that the time has come for him to marry. They themselves choose the spouse, a girl who has been nubile for a year or two. They make their decision known to the young man. If he makes no objection, this is a sign that the choice pleases, and that he agrees.[4]

[1] Speiser (3, p. 295) states that if the bride is still very young she is provided with false breasts made of painted coconut shells. False breasts made in this way are worn by young men taking the part of women in the *na-leng* mumming plays described on p. 338 of this volume, but I never heard of them being worn by young brides. Speiser states also that the bride's mother on this occasion places a yam on the girl's lap as a fertility symbol.

[2] Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 117-21. Paragraph headings and footnotes are mine.

[3] My spelling of these words is *lagh* and *laghean* (see p. 133). Cf. Mota *lag*, "to marry"; *lagia*, "marriage."

[4] Elsewhere, however, and contrary to my information, Godefroy says, "It is the mother's brother who makes it his business to find his sister's son a wife, whom he himself chooses."

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elements analysed into successive layers of belief. This method of historical analysis will be extended later when the whole of my field-material is in print. For details the reader interested in such matters is referred to the article in question. It is enough here to point out that, of the three versions, that held on Vao is clearly the older, but that even this version is itself composed of two entirely distinct layers. The fact that, in the Vao version, in spite of living on the volcano, the dead are said also to be present in the cave, and that both Le-hev-hev and Ta-ghar Lawo are met with there, is a plain indication that at one time the cave, and not the volcano, must have been the dead man's goal. It is thus clear that the volcano story is later, and superimposed on a previous belief in a home of the dead within the cave. In the Atchin and Wala versions, the dead do in fact go through a cave, but do not meet their dead relatives there, nor yet Le-hev-hev, the position of the Guardian Ghost being in these versions transferred to the Malekulan promontory of Bong-na-un from which the dead are ferried over to Ambrim. This shows a more complete acceptance of the superimposed volcano myth than is held on Vao. The severance from the older story is made more obvious by the complete disappearance of Ta-ghar Lawo, who does not figure in the Wala and Atchin stories.

Godefroy's Account

Let us now turn to Godefroy's account, and find what additional information is to be gained from it.

In the first place, we find immediate confirmation of the analytical method in the study of mythology outlined above in that, according to him, the natives themselves recognise quite clearly a sharp distinction between the two concurrently held conceptions of a home of the dead, on the one hand in a cave and on the other in the volcano on Ambrim.

According to his account there are two separate beliefs, and these two beliefs concern two layers of society. Those who have not taken Maki rank eke out their life after death in caves, while the home of the dead in the volcano is reserved only for those who have attained high rank. According to him, those who go on to the volcano do not enter a cave at all. This seems to me unlikely, since in all the versions I collected the cave is at least passed through on the way. Whether this omission is due to a degradation of belief during the last twenty years, or whether it is real, the existence of the two beliefs side by side confirms even more completely than might have been expected the results of a purely analytical examination of the longer story, and affords conclusive proof that the belief in the home of the dead within the cave is in fact the older, since belief in the volcano myth is quite definitely associated with the later, monolithic, form of Maki.